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always used to treat the wounds made by scraping. Jawaku walked away in a hurt and angry mood, his body covered with blood. 881 304

A few days later, in recognition of his advancement, Jawaku made the afternoon serving of food to the assembled men, a custom associated with the *ole* (manioc) ceremony. A further sign of his new position was the drinking of an herbaceous emetic before eating the first *piquí* fruit. Only boys who had not yet had their stomachs scraped could eat *piquí* without first taking the medicine. [264] [278]

One important purpose of body-scraping, the Trumaí thought, was to make the boy grow and give him strength. For this reason even the adult males occasionally scraped their arms. The scars themselves were very much admired. Of still greater value was the size of the muscles of the arms, chest, shoulder, and back of the neck, which the Trumaí believed to be the result of the scraping. 881 856 304 826

Another method of inducing growth was by drinking medicines made from herbs. All of the upper Xingú peoples were said to know of these preparations. The Suyá were said to have learned to make them also, but not the Yuruna. Adults drank these medicines, but they were especially important during the final phase of the puberty rites. 881 278 856

The perforation of the ear lobes was a distinct and separate part of the cycle of puberty rites, and the only one in which the boys went through a prescribed phase as a group. This observance took place during the equinoctial festive period which follows the rainy season and involved intertribal participation. At the next dry season festival, Quain was told, all the boys would have their ears pierced. Jawaku's ears, however, had been pierced before, whereas Autsuki, who was older and had entered the puberty cycle earlier, had not yet had his ears perforated. Manifestly, the time of the first perforation varied. 881 304 [48] [561]

At the first piercing the young boy added the name of his mother's father to the name of his paternal grandfather, which he had been given previously. This was also an occasion for scarifying the arms. [553]

Quain was informed that ear-piercing was done by all the upper Xingú area tribes. The Suyá, in common with other Gê-speaking peoples, made very large, and to the Trumaí, very unsightly, perforations in the lobes. Two Trumaí men who had been Suyá captives had such perforations and also pierced lower lips. The latter condition explained satisfactorily to the Trumaí why the Suyá "cannot speak properly." [171] [826] [186]

The puberty ceremonies were climaxed by a final series of tests of strength and courage: wrestling with a small anaconda, a subsequent intensive drinking of *okeis*, and further body-scraping. After this the boy was kept in seclusion until his ears were again pierced. [866]

Both Jawaku and Autsuki were at this stage. One day a snake was located in the lagoon, and Jawaku was urged to go after it. He and Makurawa ran through the brush to the lagoon and searched for it along 881 866

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Changes in status and expected behavior were connected with the transition to manhood, and new modes of participation in the culture were open to the young man. It is necessary, however, to differentiate between the transition consequent upon increased age and that which resulted specifically from passage through the life crisis rites. Ideally, such a distinction should not have existed, as the achievement of physical maturity should have been heralded by the socio — religious observances. But there were two young married men, Yanahi and Aloari, who had not completed the ritual — the former because of disinclination, the latter due to the delay caused by his captivity among the Yuruna. Aloari, although both vocal and aggressive, and having the men's haircut, was definitely not one of the men's group yet. His smoking was only of the "lying" kind. He still needed the ritual admittance to the smoking group. Yanahi, on the other hand, still had the youthful haircut, but, for unknown reasons, was already a full-fledged member of the men's group. He was frequently seen with the adolescent boys, however, and his activities were characterized by a youthful lack of gravity. His history shows that there was no sudden break with boyhood among the Trumaí. The puberty rites were spread over a long enough time to allow a slow incorporation into the adult world.

Upon reaching man's estate, the young man became an integral part of the household and village economies. To be sure, property attitudes had been developed early, but he now had a greater opportunity to express them, inasmuch as he was able to participate in the upper Xingú trade system and thus accumulate more personal possessions. His entrance into the men's circle gave him a larger voice in community affairs, but at the same time it involved him in many village squabbles, which were intensified by his search for sexual partners or a wife. Also, among his added responsibilities was the defense of the village.

In short, the status of the newly arrived man brought greater economic independence and a fuller participation in the social and ceremonial life of the community. In return for his heightened importance he was expected to act with sobriety and self-reliance, to show courage and fortitude, and to be more aggressive in asserting his new rights and prerogatives. This last was largely a matter of degree, for Quain had been impressed at the extent to which children asserted themselves and shared the mannerisms and attitudes of adults.

Female Puberty

The only data available on female puberty observances concern the first menses (*wasipanes*), when the girl is confined for a period during which she wears her hair over her face. Rodrigues Ferreira, in commenting on a Trumaí girl in seclusion, states that she must remain in her

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tention of marriage. But an intention of marriage did not insure exclusive sexual rights. The man usually continued to get gratification wherever he could find it. The knowledge of his other liaisons did not particularly disturb his bride-to-be, as she herself may well have been receiving attentions from other lovers. After marriage, such transgressions were not so readily tolerated.

The chief obstacles in the way of the marriage-bent Trumaí swain were the necessity to shout down his rivals and gain the approval and consent of the girl's kinsmen. The woman's consent was not necessary in making the marriage, and she usually remained aloof, waiting to see who won. If, however, she was not pleased with the mate to whom she was awarded, she was free to leave him. And this she often did. While Quain was in the village, there were marriages that lasted only a day or two due to the bride's dissatisfaction.

In addition to the arguments that precede most marriages, the man was expected to go through certain formalities. He went to the girl's mother and stated his intentions. If the girl had no mother, he approached the nearest male relative. In order to gain the favor of her kinsmen, he distributed gifts, the most important to the girl's mother, others to her father, siblings, and her mother's brother. The gift to the latter was especially important, as he was the one who formally gave the woman, or as the Trumaí phrase it, "spreads her legs." Gifts were also given the girl, culminating with a present of fish. In the meantime the girl made an especially fine hammock which she gave to the groom.

If everything was accepted, the man was free to take the girl to his house. The wedding was preceded by a fishing expedition in which nearly all the men participated, and by a wrestling match for which the groom was beautifully painted. The women held a trade game. The actual ceremony consisted of nothing more than the woman's moving into the house of her mate. A male relative carried her hammock to his home.

This was the way weddings should have been conducted in the Trumaí village. Actually, they were even less formal, especially in the case of second wives in polygamous unions. Marriage and sex preoccupied the Trumaí, for there were not enough women to go around; but even the few formal acts involved interested the Trumaí little. If the marriage was durable, the couple settled down and had children. After marriage and the birth of children no great change occurred in their positions in the community until they reached old age.

Old Age

Everyone in the village was classified as "younger" or "older." The men were either *axosek* (younger) or *idakek* (older), while the terms for the women were, respectively, *axosekiss* and *idakits*. These were not age

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888 [561] [181] grades except in the broadest sense, as the term for "younger" covered everyone from infants to people in the prime of life. The terms, however, indicate a keen consciousness that those who have passed their prime are distinct from those who are still developing or are at the height of their physical powers.

The Trumaí believed that it was good to be young, vigorous, and strong, while advancing years were a stigma. Quain always met with a stout denial whenever he suggested to someone that he was older than someone else. An old person, they said with contempt, was one who did not bathe or shave the crown of his head any more. Mayuva did not [626] bother to bathe one morning and was derided by Kerami, who accused him of being old. A short time later he reappeared freshly bathed.

[162] While several individuals were considered "older," the only ones who fell into the Trumaí category of true old age were Matiwana and Yahu. The latter's status was further lowered by the fact that he was con- [563] sidered to be a Kamayurá; his father was a member of that tribe and he had a son living with them. However, Yahu was still sexually potent and a full participant in the economy.

[195] A person of truly advanced old age was called *dewan*. This term, which has uncomplimentary connotations, was applied only to men "whose penis is dead" or to women past menopause. Matiwana was the only person of either sex who fitted the *dewan* category. The only tasks for which he was suited were light craft work, gathering firewood, and an occasional fishing trip. He was, however, the fount of nearly all Trumaí ceremonial knowledge. Matiwana was well cared for by his son and by his household. The son's affection and loyalty to his father were deep, and he was the old man's constant companion. The rest of the villagers remained aloof from Matiwana.

888 554 [756] The Trumaí abhorred the thought of their own future old age, and they transferred some of this fear to the persons of the aged. Status declined with age, and Matiwana had his ceremonial lore and shamanistic skill to thank for what position he still maintained.

Death

768 764 Neither the village site nor the house of the deceased had to be abandoned following death. Burial took place in the village plaza. The corpse was interred lying on its back in an extended position, wrapped and bound in its hammock. Numerous cooking utensils, including a *ja'meo* (ceramic griddle for baking *beijú*) were buried with both male and female deceased.

765 No deaths occurred while Quain was in residence, but mourning was still going on for a man who had recently died. The burden of mourning fell on the female relatives of the deceased. The only observance in-